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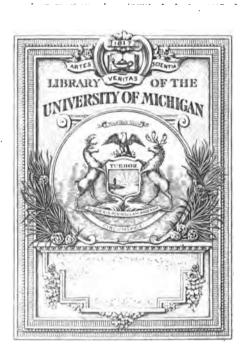
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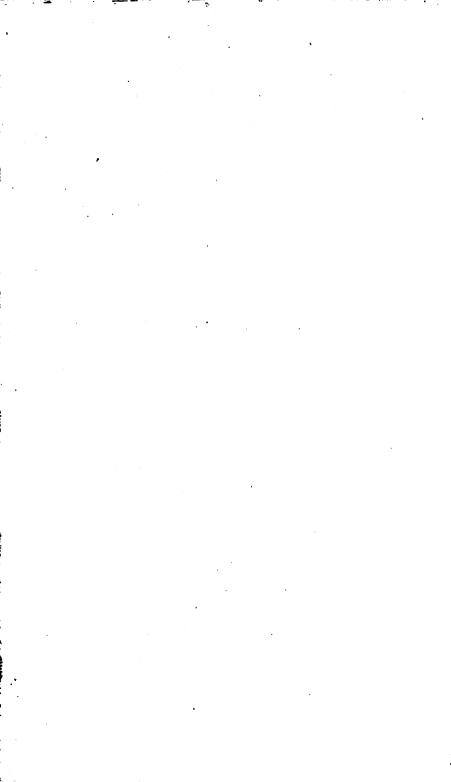
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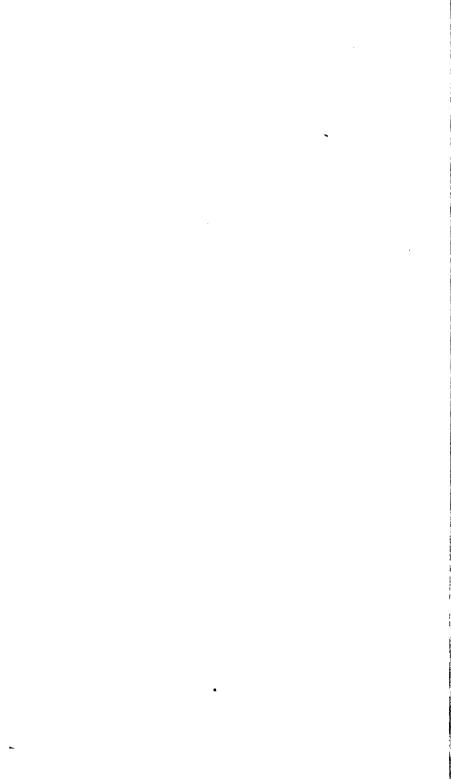
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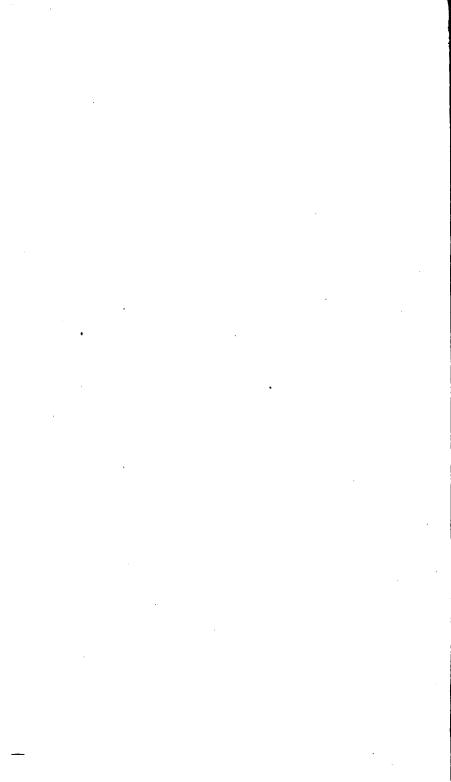
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with great Regard;

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P'O E M:

INVINCIBLE ISLAND;

TIM. Soot;

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INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS

THE PRESENT WAR.

PERCIVAL STOCKDALE.

The Douglas, and the Hotspur, both together,

Are confident against the world in arms.

Shakespeare.

London:

PRINTED FOR W. CLARKE, NO. 38, NEW BOND-STREET; AND SOLD BY F. AND C. RIVINGTON, NO. 62, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH YARD.

1797.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

OF the merit of the following Poem the Reader must judge. But I should suppose that every discerning reader will have no doubt that it was written with an ardent sincerity; that it slowed from the heart;——

Warm from the foul, and faithful to it's fires.

I wrote it, likewise, from the calm, and deliberate principle of duty. There was a time, when poetry, from various reasons, was of more importance than it is, at present, in England. There are, however, many, very many cultivated, and elegant minds, in this country; and in such minds, true poetry will always make a warm, and deep impression. I think it the peculiar

peculiar duty of all his Majesty's liege and good subjects, to contribute, with their best ability, to the success of the common cause, at this juncture; when the very existence of our constitution, and of our state, is infolently, and impiously threatened, by an abandoned, and ferocious enemy.

N. B. Since this Poem was written, Mr. Fox has again exerted his talents in the House of Commons. I have not thought it necessary to make any alterations on that account: I am forry to find that the late tendency of his eloquence has not superseded my ardent wishes, and respectful appeal to his best sentiments.

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INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS.

THE arbitrary, and violent rulers of the FRENCH nation have always been intent on general invafion, and tyranny. To this object they have been invariably attached ever fince the abolition of their old monarchy; and in the profecution of it they have been invariably confistent. Their decree of the 19th of November 1792, contained a formal declaration, to extend universally their new principles of government; and to encourage revolt in all countries; even in those which were neutral. In the decree of December the 15th, of the same year, they completely avowed their intentions: they declared that the FRENCH nation would treat as enemies the people, who, refusing, or renouncing liberty, and equality, should be desirous of preserving their Prince, and privileged casts; or of entering into an accommodation with them. As these decrees directly, and rudely violated the law of nations; as they were totally in-. compatible

compatible with the elements of that policy which teaches one state properly to respect another; they declared, in fact, that the FRENCH nation had determined to be the tyrants of EUROPE. In these declarations, indeed, the folly of the French rulers (a folly very natural to upstart, and ignorant power) was equal to it's insolence: and in consequence of these declarations, if all the other states of Europe had been wife; if they had been more influenced by common sense than by inferiour passions, and perfuits; and by an unfortunate negligence; they would immediately have declared war against FRANCE. Their actions very foon fulfilled their threats, as they related to us, and to our neighbours: they robbed the Emperour, and the King of SARDINIA, of their lawful territories; and they invaded our allies, whom afterwards they subjugated. These insolent decrees were published; and these hostilities were committed, before the commencement of the war between GREAT BRITAIN, and FRANCE,

All this atrocious conduct the English government bore with unexampled patience, and moderation; which we might be inclined severely to charge with imprudence; if they had not been preserved, from the most amiable motives; to spare the effusion

of human blood; and the other unavoidable, and complicated evils of war. While they proceeded in this manner, they received not from us, one real provocation; one just cause of a proclaimed, and decifive resentment: as is evident even in the desence of their minute, industrious, and popular * advocate. Indeed we had taken a very ferious, and wellgrounded alarm: we were calling forth the spirit, and the vigour of our country; we were preparing for the national defence; when a torrent of anarchy, and rapacity, menaced the inundation of the world. Our necessary preparations, however, after all their impudent encroachments, they made a pretext for doing what they would have done, at all events: they declared war against GREAT BRITAIN, and HOLLAND. Thus the war was, on our part, avoided, with the utmost care; and thus, on our part, it became unavoidable.

To show, by another instance, the fixed, and licentious views of these robbers, it will be proper here to refer to a letter of Monge, their secretary of the marine department; when his masters had the modesty to insist that we should put a stop to the augmentation of our navy. In that letter he an-

^{*} Mr. Ersking.

nounced the intentions of FRANCE to fly to the aid of the English republicans; to plant in our island the tree of liberty; and to destroy the tyranny of the BRITISH government.

These facts are well known; and they have been more ably urged than I can pretend to enforce them; but the present crisis demands that they should be brought again to universal recollection; and kept in warm, and useful remembrance. No government ever showed a stronger disposition to peace than has been evinced by ours; before hostilities began, and during their progress: no government was ever driven · to war by a more over-ruling, and imperious necesfity. Mr. ERSKINE himfelf explicitly reprobates the prominent features of FRENCH deformity: he acknowledges that we might justly have made the decrees which I have quoted, the inftant foundations of war. It is impossible for me not to think that this very acknowledgement gives a mortal flab to all his charges against the minister, on the subject of the war. deed, I would not wish for a more clear, and fatisfactory vindication of Mr. Pirr's conduct, as a minifler, than this gentleman's "View of the Caufes, and Consequences of the present War;"-if it is read by an unprejudiced and penetrating mind. When a pamphlet,

pamphlet, written by a man of eminent talents, who is warmly attached to his cause; and who has easy access to all useful, and important information, is far from effecting it's aim; if all the topicks, and arguments that he can possibly muster, of defence, on the one fide, and of accusation, on the other, are sophiftical, or weak; the fair deduction from them, collectively taken, almost amounts to an absolute acquittal of the person who is accused. Let me produce a short specimen of his doctrines: We should have observed a prudent, and armed neutrality. - In another place; -we should have observed a soothing neutrality. . -We should have interfered with Austria; -to prevent her from repelling FRENCH invafion: - and we should have protected the French republick. All this timorous, undecided, pernicious caution we should have practifed; all this irregular; unprecedented, and defperate conduct we should have persued; in favour of an old, inveterate, and perfidious enemy; who was now grown to a many-headed hydra, that threatened the destruction of EUROPE. He prosesses a great, and tender regard for religion; and he is a zealous, and indefatigable advocate for those men who are at war, not only with all religion; but with all morality; both in their theory, and in their lives.

It is much to be regretted that this gentleman, when he took the field of the statesman, should have · fo far descended to the patron of a bad cause, or even to the most credulous reader of a newspaper, as to urge against our administration the false prosessions, and explanations of LB BRUN, and CHAUVELIN. when they were charged with their imperious, and iniquitous decrees; and with their unprovoked invafion of the territories of their neighbours. Need I remind Mr. ERSKINE, that it is perfectly agreeable to the habits of more decent diplomatical persons than those of republican FRANCE, to be prepared, at any juncture, to tell a varnished, and empty tale; to gain time to mature their schemes of perfidy, and cambition? Unrepealed decrees; and the retention of invaded domains, gave a direct lie to their equitable professions, and specious explanations: and I cannot believe that Mr. Ersking feriously, thought them worthy of the least regard.

If he wrote the pamphlet which hath spread so far, and wide, from his real conviction of the general rectitude, and greatness of the French conduct; on which he has bestowed the most lavish, and preposterous encomiums; if he is conscious that no particle of envy, and dislike of superiour power, and

fuperiour talents, blended itself with his better sentiments while he wrote it (and I hope that he seels
this consciousness) if his mind was thus actuated, and
thus pure, while it was employed on his late production; I should be equally ungenerous, and absurd, if I meant to depreciate his learning; his cloquence; and his same, as a barrister: but I must
take the honest liberty to observe that he hath shown
himself by no means an adept in political * knowledge.

As the pamphlet to which I allude was written by a mind which was naturally ardent, and sufficiently heated; I was likewise surprized at it's weakness, as a composition. When I view it on the whole, it prompts me to make some remarks which may be particularly useful in these times; when the boldest, and most destructive principles are industriously, and artfully propagated. Not even the great abilities of an authour, nor the excellence of his cause, will always, of themselves, produce the circulation, and popularity of his book. His particular station in the com-

^{*} I shall ever bear a grateful, and respectful remembrance of Mr. Ersking's polite attention to me, in two or three instances; therefore by the great importance of my subject, I am painfully obliged to animadvert on what he has written.

munity; the propitious gale with which fortune has blown him along, in life; and fome prevailing errour, or epidemical infatuation, will more powerfully promote his literary fuccess. The majority of the publick are echoes of opinion; for they are superficial in thought. They fit down to read, hastily anticipating their own approbation, or diflike of the performance: their-little instinctive perceptions flow. in unifon with a merely flowing style: but when they come to the authour's blaze of GALLICK oratory; to his rights of man; to his liberty, and equality; to his patriotick valour; and glorious atchievements; the intellectual spell is then compleated; and it usurps the citadel which nature meant for the feat of under-Land But I Walter Come flanding.

We shall likewise be prepared to avoid perplexity, and to form a right judgement on various objects, if we properly consider the novelty of the causes, and consequences of the French Revolution; a novelty, not only to the time, and quarter of the world, in which we live; but through all countries, and all ages. This novelty consists of such a diversity, and complication of motives, actions, and events; that they give a wide, and curious play to designing, and ingenious sophistry; and enable it the more effectually

tually to mislead honest, and good minds, of common cultivation, and abilities, by it's artifice, and imposition. This almost infinitely ramified, and complex novelty ought likewife to temper our judgement of the conduct of those to whom the supreme power of the state is entrusted; a power, even in the most tranquil, and serene times, of arduous exercise, and beneficence: if we deferve the name of men: if we are properly conscious of our own infirmity, and fallibility; and of the infirmity, and fallibility of human nature. We ought to give the most lenient construction to any errour which a great minister may commit; and the warmest tribute of esteem, and praise, to his provident, and indesatigable application; and to his more splendid, and glorious exertions.

If all the causes, natural, and elaborate, which I have mentioned, had not co-operated to confound the simple distinctions of right, and wrong; a page or two might have perspicuously established the necessity of our present war with France.

I have proved, by an induction of facts, that before the commencement of the war, the rulers of that country treated us, in their threatening, and domi-

neering language, with an oftentatious infolence; not less domineering, and iniquitous than that which they now exhibit. But their views were not confined to our island: they declared themselves the arbiters of mankind; the future masters of the world. were certainly destitute of the only title to universal empire which the Romans could alledge; and which is, of itself, a very insufficient, a very groundless title; - Dignity of character, and conduct. Their actions have corresponded with their threats; before the war, they invaded our allies; an outrage on the law of nations, which has always amounted to a declaration of war, till the late revolution of ideas as well as of established institutions; till those doctrines were industriously diffused, which are evidently calculated to subvert all falutary political, and moral truth. But their inroads, like their menaces, were not limited to our allies; they have seized the territories of other states, without the shadow of an equitable claim: fome they have subjugated by the dread of a lawless, and desolating power; and these victims to the most humiliating of all tyrannies, with an effrontery peculiar to themselves, they have termed their allies; the infolent mockery of servitude; and the inimitably transparent veil of oppression,

By the depredations, and enormously extended dominions of these robbers, the balance of power in Europe hath received a terrible concussion: by repelling their unbounded spirit of usurpation; by confining them within their own limits, it can only be restored. At present, we cannot hope to realize the latter object; but let our utmost exertions be directed to savour it's completion. Indeed this momentous balance hath been, as it were, the axis on which the plans, and memorials of the wisest, and most venerable statesmen have always moved: it's importance is so striking that it must be clearly seen by common sense, and observation.

It has been demonstrated to Europe that their late farce of negotiation was a composition of unexampled persidy, and insult. When we consider the negotiation in it's whole extent, it is one of the many proofs that their cabinet is treacherous, and unseeling; and that ours is honest, and humane. If we had affented to their exorbitant, and monstrous preliminary condition; in the moment of our affent, we should have acknowledged ourselves what we really must have been;—The slaves of France.

These numerous, and insatiable banditti: who are under no controul of conscience; of law; or of religion; have, now, publickly, and repeatedly declared (what, indeed, made the fubfiance of two of their decrees, five years ago) that they are determined to invade, and conquer us; and like true Roman combucrours*; like to many Fasit, Caros, and Cin-CINNATI; to give us mild, and falutary laws; to regenerate, with their pure spirit, our depraved hearts; and to insule into them publick, and private ristue. In short, they have resolved (I am now salthfully translating their FRENCH bombast) to destroy our excellent constitution in church, and state; to dispose of our properties, at their own capricious will; and to substitute for our invaluable civil, and religious bleffings, the profligacy, and the anarchy of France. They will not be able to effect what they threaten, unless we are fatally divided at home: but by fuch division, I trust that BRITAIN (when the existence of iour country, in the best sense of the word, is the object

^{*}The ancient Romans were milder masters than their all-subduing modern successours; to the states which they had conquered, they continued the enjoyment of their own form of government, and of their laws, and privileges: they never interposed the Roman polity, or jurisprudence, but where either evidently promoted the publick good.

of the contoff) will never fall. If we are unfres, we are invincible.

From these unquestionable facts, which I have been careful justly to state, it surely must be evident to every dispassionate, and discerning judge, that we cannot, with a particle of reason, impute the calamities of this war to our great Minister (if ever a minister deserved the epithet) but to those unprincipled, and fanguinary men, who have obstinately refused our candid, generous, and repeated offers of peace; and whom we may, therefore, proberly pronounce, the murderers of the human species; a nation of ROBESPIERRES. Ever fince they broke look from all political restraints, their conduct to GREAT BRITAIN has been founded on the maxim which has lately been proclaimed to the world by Monge, their senator, and stone-cutter; that the two States could not co-exist; and that the one must be subdued, und subjected by the other. With people of such tenets; to which, with a long, and unrelenting implacability, they have adhered in practice, it was impossible to avoid a war. To us the war was necessary; to EVENOPE it was friendly; for if we had not checked the France torrent of invalion, it would have spread more destructively over our division of the globe.

Surely, every Englishman, who deserves that distinguishing appellation, in the annals of liberty; when he has taken a proper view of all these objects; will be more early prepared to facrifice his property, and his life, than to fuffer the Directory of FRANCE to be his fovereigns, and dictators. If any fubject of BRITAIN is, at this juncture, an advocate for these unparalleled usurpers; if he will not co-operate with government, and with his utmost ability, to repell their infolence, and injustice; one, of three reasons must be assigned for his indifference, or hostile disposition to the publick welfare. His intellect must be very weak; or it must be extremely insected, and debilitated, with that FRENCH poison, which, in various vehicles, has been most industriously diffeminated over the world: or it must be intoxicated with an immoral, and inordinate ambition. From one. at least, of these causes, his misconduct must originate: if I could poffibly discover any one more honourable, I would willingly produce it. My mind is, at present, too strongly actuated by objects of the most important magnitude, to descend to little prejudices, and passions. There are men who reject opinions which are very dear to me, whom I love, and effecm. 'Tis true, I have applied terms of the most explicit reprobation to the French enormities; not because they had over-heated my fancy; but because I was satisfied that those terms were just. When we communicate to the world truths of the greatest moment, we should not emasculate them with a false delicacy; with a vague, and indiscriminate politeness; we ought to convey those truths in words as commensurate as possible, with their ideas. At this hour of retirement, and thought, I know that I am deeply interested, and impressed, only with the love of my country; and with my abhorrence of all tyranny. And it is not in the nature of the fentiments which are excited by these principles, to take a partial and illiberal direction. We should all give our ferious, and unprejudiced attention to make the present times, with a better meaning than that of a profligate, and contemptible scribbler,-THE AGE OF REASON.

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INVINCIBLE ISLAND.

CAN all the mind's fertility pourtray

Man's pride, and madness, on some suture day!

France, governed long by absolute command;

Formed to convulse, but not to rule a land;

France, that hath lest no path of crimes untrod;

Foe to all virtue; even at war with Gop!

Whom slaves, before, whom tyrants, now, we find;

(The natural progress of the human mind!)

France, (have I lived these monstrous times to see!)

France is to teach Britannia to be free!

n

Mand

Island of bliss! renowned for laurels won!

Accept this ardent service of thy son!

While at this awfully momentous time;

Alike unparalleled in prose, and rhyme,

Others with civick wreaths crown every hour,

More blessed with wealth, or strengthened more with power;

Poets can only add a sprig of bay;

Poets can only give their zealous lay!

Oh! were my muse as warm as my desires;

Were her slame equal to my patriot fires;

Fine coruscations, darting from my page,

Haply might stimulate the generous rage

That glows in every British, free-born soul;

While Gallia threats her insolent controul!

Jealous of Liberty's, of Glory's plan,
Mult we be victims to those apes of 'man!

Never!—All Englishmen their Shakespeare know;
To bards 'tis given in prophecy to flow;
Shakespeare,' the jest of every Gallick fool;
Echoes of Ferney's superficial school;

Who think all genius by their own surpassed;

Whose verse is rhyme; whose cloquence, bombast:

ENGLAND her SHAKESPEARE knows; but what saya

he?

Like brethren let our island but agree; The dauntless Horsgur, and the Douglas, joined. In unifor of wealth; of heart; of mind; Will win the god who drives the crimion car; And wage against the world successful war. Then by the gallant Scottish ghoffs I swear, Blest with the fragrance, of ELYSIAN air; Who ruthed impetuous on the patriot's doom; Repelling from their land ambitious Rome! Nay (for no obstinate, mean hate, I know, To union summoned by the common foe) I fwear by those who fell at FLODDEN's field; With hearts that knew to conquer, not to yield;-And by our English ghofts; the glorious dead; Who at famed AGINCOURT, and CRESSY, bled; If we obey the maxim of our feer; A poet; prophet; politician, here;

Life's

Life's current still shall prove, in British blood, Of valour an insuperable flood;

Still other MARLBOROUGHS; other Wolfes shall rife;

To glad a nation's hearts; a nation's eyes;

Again their thunder, with just vengeance, hurled,

By land, shall crush the robbers of the world;

While HAWKES, and HOWES; and DUNCANS, on
the main,

Impurple Neptune's realm with Frenchmen flain:
With murmur flits each melancholy ghost:
Cursing it's dreams of treading England's coast.

But while my mind approves; admires; reveres

The hand intrepid that our vessel steers;—

Not with French rant; with English firmness

braves

Meteors of anarchy, and faction's waves;
While I revere each patron of the state;
Let me not class too low the poet's fate.
Poets give grace, and energy to mind;
And speed the noble passions of mankind,

PINDAR in THEBAN bosoms lighted stames,

To pant for glory at Olympia's games;

And to deserve their country's beauteous dames.

The bard, Tyrthus, with his patriot song,

Raised from despair the listening Spartan throng;

Taught their chilled hearts with ancient heat to glow;

And drove their arms, in thunder, on the soe.

For his first pleasure of nocturnal hours,

Young Ammon, blest with ardent mental powers,

Close to his conquering sword the Ilian laid,

Invoking Homer's venerable shade:

The god-like strain he read with sleepless eyes;

And fired his soul with verse, to great emprize.

Oh! then, might DRYDEN's muse my numbers fire;
His easy force; his eloquence inspire;
Give all his servour to my vigorous line;
"His long, majestick march, and energy divine*;"
Which multiplied BRITANNIA's naval balls;
And drove them home, through HOLLAND's oaken walls;

Or would our Rank's ignore cultivated muse;

Whose graceful robe floats with celestial hues;

Tune in my ravished care his golden strain,

That urged our campon on the pride of Spain;

By powers poetick I might, then, regain

A loyal phalanx from Sedition's train;

Those powers would clear their intellectual fight

From democratick stogs of Stygian night:

Yes; loyal to the code of publick sway,

Praised in the sage's prose; the poet's lay;

That equal code which Montesquinu admires;

Which warms Helvetlus with the purest sires.

Blest pair! while two such Frenchmen plead our cause,

How England feels ber falutary laws! ...
Your country's glory, while the valued fame;
Now, in her Scythian flate, your country's fhame!

Would but one spirit of the mighty dead.

His heat benign on his admirer shed;

Would BURKE, who gave us poetry in prose,

While strength of argument collateral flows;

With

With great suggestions fill my poorer breast;

Twould then, with glorious agitation blest,

Congenial sense, and imagery produce,

Of private rapture, and of publick use.—

Transsuse his servid wher to my line;

The coyness I could bear of all the Nine.

Oh! come; to man disposed for ever well;

People with Plato's forms my lonely cell;

Those sorms, in eloquence by thee conveyed;

In thy mellistuous style, celestial shade!

A splendid world of poetry would show;

And with more musick teach my verse to flow;

Come, then; to letters warmly still inclined;

Enrich my fancy, and inform my mind!

When freed from low perfuits, our minds attend;
Each moral poet is his country's friend:
'Tis true, the precepts glide; they fofily steal,
But furely, to the mass of publick weal.
The savourities of the muse, with fine controul;
With force delightful, draw the captive soul;

Suffuse all moral truth with charming grace;
And push the virtues of the human race;
Their own they push; intent on high renown,
They seel not, while the Nine their temples crown,
Envy's mean arts, nor Pride's presumptuous frown.

Would Heaven's omnipotence on me bestow
Those powers which in poetick story flow;
Which siery souls could with it's magick tame;
And change the passions of the human frame;
Then should my country soon possess, combined,
All her dread sorce of matter, and of mind:
To matter, powerless to destroy, or save;
"The womb of Nature, and perhaps her grave";"
All act; all energy, by mind is given;
That emanation from the throne of heaven!
Our earth were dead; our sun; our days; our years;
Unless a:God for ever wheeled the spheres;
Then let two god-like minds no longer jar;
But drive, in harmony, the storm of war!

When Eloquence's bright, refistless flood, Shall roll, united, for your country's good; When she shall hear you plead her urgent cause, With ardent concord, of endangered laws: Of property; of life; of all that's dear; Of all that moves the smile; or draws the tear; The force electrick shall pervade our isle; The queen of nations shall resume her smile:-Hear !- by the mifer's vote the war supplied; See! cowards pant to die as Burgess died! Who can each powerful stimulus withstand; When Robbers threaten; and when you command? Well pleased, though prostrate, falls poetick pride; By Oratory's pathos far outvied:-But let my verse with stronger interest flow; By your exertions proftrate falls the foe!

Of all the talents that from heaven we share,
We find the first-rate orator's most rare.
In ancient times, two commonwealths were blest,
Each, with one genius, of these powers possessed;

The

The first, in Athens, lengthened Freedom's date;
Her drooping life, in a degenerate state:
The next (great victim to a tyrant's doom!)
Repelled destruction from majestick Rome!—
Two first-rate orators in Britain live;
(Such glories can her constitution give!)——
If, then, in former governments, one sage,
By Hermes fired, could vanquish hostile rage;
Sure, two such patriots may preserve our own;
Secure our senate, and protect our throne.

Thou orator! whose praise would speed my muse;
Her numbers polish, and expand her views;
Whose social character I love; whose fire,
Pregnant with splendid genius, I admire;
Forgive the liberal poet, who presumes
(His muse, with awe, contracts her burnished plumes?)
On ground political to move with thee;
But this great criss bids us all be free.
Would Fox for a wild horde of Tartars plead;
Who still for freedom is prepared to bleed?

All masks those savages have thrown away: Have now announced themselves in open day. Peace they despise; their trade is to annoy; Deceit, and infult, are a FRENCHMAN's joy! To an old proverb Punic faith gave birth; French faith be now the proverb, o'er the earth: 'Tis true, that faith was of notorious fame, When all it's realms adored a monarch's name: But then their court politely broke it's word; Like gentlemen, whose honour is their sword: But now the low mechanicks of the land: Those chieftains, "of exceeding good command*;" Unmoved with shame, advance the grossest lie; Callous to refutation's calm reply: Or with some bold affront it's force defy: Assume their kindred rabble's brutal airs: And almost kick ambassadours down stairs. Oh! cruel task, by Providence assigned. To try a learned, polished, candid mind;

^{*} An expression of Shakesprare.

That mind opposed by artificial spheres, To ignorance, and infolence;—its peers! May MALMESBURY deign attention to my lays; And from no venal pen accept his praise! Let from the scholar's mind a tribute flow; And as a Briton take the thanks I owe. Oft with thy * father my enamoured youth Wooed, in his groves ATHENIAN, beauteous Truth: And as his comment on my spirit wrought, The STAGYRITE more clearly met my thought; The more I loved what god-like Plato taught. While thus I reasoned with the good, and wife, PHŒBUS, in June, too early left the skies! In The fon is worthy to succeed the fire; Thine is his virtue; thine his ATTIC fire: Born to contrast thyself, in wayward times, With dire abettors of all human crimes:

^{*} In this passage I allude to the works of the late celebrated James Harris, Esq. of Salisbury; which I studied with great pleasure; and which are highly, and equally distinguished by their learning; their elegance; and their zeal for virtue.

Born, as a British delegate, to show

How far ingenuous dignity can go;

While by the French transactions was expressed

What baseness can pollute the human breast.

These are the pygmies, who, all-good, all-wise,
In their vain fancy, to old Romans rise;
These are the generous fathers of mankind,
Who promise that by some propitious wind,
Their Heaven-sent sleets our coasts, ere long, shall
see;—

They land; they conquer; and they make us free! Who would not laugh, this impious boast to hear; Did not it's impious nonsense wound our ear? Say, since your monarch's death, ye vaunting elves, What liberty have you enjoyed, yourselves? Now, nine long years in acting madly wrong (Various, and dire events have made them long!) You've passed: thus, from your revolution's date, Crimes heaped on crimes have driven your headlong fate,

Those

Those years what deeds of genuine glory grace? Bombast, and blood, and rapine fill the space! Eager, abroad, your neighbour's rights to seize; At home, to trample on your own decrees; Consusion on consusion you have hurled; The Pand Emonium of our upper world!

Not polity's mere elements you know;

Of order ignorant; to it's bliss a foe!

Tell me:—with intellectual vision strong;

While a blind chaos whirls your state so long;

Tell me; with tranquil study have you seen,

What LOCKE, what MONTESQUIEU, what SYDNET mean?

Have you the paths to the best science trod;
By which a man participates his Gop?
Have you implored that Gop to dart a beam,
To light you through the complicated theme?
That mighty theme, whose blessings, as they flow,
Cheer, and exalt our being here below;
The theme that spreads fair plenty o'er a land;
While just obedience bows to just command;

That

That cheers the husband's labour; charms the wife: And throws ELYSIUM round connubial life; That, brought to action, fires all minds; all hearts; Stirs all great passions; urges all fine arts; To love of country, and to glory, wakes The fouls of Duncans, as the fouls of DRAKES; Excites the bard to energetick lays; His dearest recompence, that country's praise: Brings matchless orators to splendid day; Gives Pitt's, and Fox's genius, all their play! That theme: that constitution, at this hour, (Blest influence of her large, pervading power!) That theme: that constitution now invites, Intreats her Fox to plead her facred rights; She hopes, in the PALLADIUM of his mind, For fafety from the refuse of mankind: Woos him his less ambition to forego; And pour his greater on the common foe; To grasp, in friendship, England's whole expanse; To feel nought hostile to his peace but FRANCE; His BRITISH brother-lion proud to join; And add new luftre to the fearless line:

She woos him still to earn more high renown;
More vivid foliage for the patriot's crown.

Sage policy! how powerful is it's plan!

To his last excellence it brightens man!

It's complex operations steal along;

In silence, active; in gradation, strong;

For ever verging to their parent-goal;

Their god-like aim; the welfare of the whole!

Ye stupid atheists! moves this fine machine
In your tumultuous, sanguinary scene?
Make you it's laws your knowledge, or your care?
Murderers of all that's good, and wise, and fair!

Your nation with the farce of kingly power
At first you mocked; poor phantom of an hour!
No proper pressure to that King you gave,
In the state's weight;—a mere conspicuous slave!
Statesmen, unparalleled through every age!
Shall all your crudities disgrace my page?

Councils; conventions; and affemblies loud;
Each, a mechanick, upftart, bawling crowd;
Directories, more grave, and famous far;
Great in their nervous arguments for war!
Let me but skim these monsters in my strains;
The shapeless progeny of moon-struck brains.
No railing, this; men of discerning eye
Blunders in all your plans at once descry;
You work on no strong base; your fabricks all,
As soon as reared, are tottering to their fall;
Soon (for no part supports; no part coheres)
They fink, and crash, and thunder round your ears.

From all the practice of your motley sway,
Your civil justice bears the palm away.
When honest lawyers, whom all tyrants hate,
Pled for their clients, doomed to lawless fate;
When by your orders; by your forms they pled;
Anticipating vengeance marked them dead;
Your justice, like your axe, a mere machine;
And both were sentenced to the guillotine!

But now their genius finds a stranger mode; Their penal statutes take a longer road. Now, with the Deity these judges vie; Now, with intuitive, omniscient eye, They see the traitor; -in ethereal minds, A dull, cold process no admission finds; Power self-derived; power self-informed commands; And off he fails to Afric's burning fands. This is Morocco's comprehensive plan;— -A model of the ALGERINE divan. These men have promised, on some genial day, To cheer our darkened isle with Freedom's ray; Transcendent merit passed our own to make; And spare our nation for their Newton's sake. Oh! hallowed, long; oh! venerable name! Art thou dishonoured by injurious same! Thy name should strike those fiends with filent awe; Saint of Religion's; priest of Nature's law! Yet to these wretches must we go to school, To learn to flourish under equal rule! Need I say more?—If more I had to say, My English feelings would impede it's way!

Let these incentives, Fox, have all their force;
And shape, magnanimous, by them, thy course:
Give ill-timed * opposition to the wind;
And leave all party-spirit far behind.
Who would not act what millions will approve?
What gains it's author universal love?
Who would not, with ambition fraught, aspire
To conduct which the coldest hearts admire?
Think of the summit of immortal same;
And think of each illustrious English name!
Perhaps, of Britain some departed friend,
At times; may, now, thy filent thoughts attend;
Suggest that when the brightest glory calls,
In the great soul, self-love deseated, falls;

F 2

That

^{*} An unfair, or superficial reasoner may tell me, that Mr. Fox has relinquished opposition to the Minister, by seceding from Parliament. To this I reply, that we may be industrious to deseat a rival in many ways besides that of immediate, personal contest;—that negative often operate more powerfully than positive hostilities;—that they should never be adopted by great minds, because they are the common warfare of the meanest;—and that as I highly respect Mr. Fox, I can never reslect on his retreat from his senatorial station, at this time, without pain.

That such a soul, clogged with no gross allay,
Wings it's direct, and elevated way!

Let * Hamden's whisper prompt the generous deed;

Let Sydney's hint illumine Virtue's meed;

And let not Russel's aspect tinge thy dreams

With clouds of forrow, but with heavenly gleams!

By minds of no deep thought, we all have heard
A proposition hastily averred;
That as the postdiluvian race of men
Sink to the grave, at threescore years and ten;
Rise, slourish, and decay; then yield their breath;
Such is of empires, too, the life, and death:
They, in their infancy, and youth, proceed,
With every arduous; every glorious deed:
Matured, with great, and rival states, they vie:—
Commerce, and luxury spread; they droop; they die.

^{*} If CHARLES the First was a tyrant (though I believe that he never meant to be a tyrant) we now have thousands of tyrants to oppose.

This doctrine will not bear the toft of truth; A state may hold interminable youth; That state, unlimited in age mature, Against the worst events may prove secure: Frail man is made of one compacted frame; And foon the grave must have it's awful claim: But empires long may ward their fatal date; Long may succeeding lives protract their sate. Think what depends on one illustrious life: Think how the THEBAN, with his martial strife: With all his virtues, all his talents, bleffed; Sprung, like an eagle, for his THERES distressed; Like Jove's own lightning, darted on his prey; And GREECE's palm-imperial bore away! But when divine EPAMINONDAS died, His matchless worth no equal chief supplied; Withered, at once, was all his country's bloom; And THEBES, and HE, were buried in one tomb. Great orators will die; great heroes bleed; New heroes, and new orators fucceed: Apparent ruin at mankind is hurled; Some ATLAS rifes, and he props the world!

So, Pitts, and Foxes, strong in virtuous will,
The spheres of our best ancestors may fill;
May join the sactious to their country's friends;
And as the social mass harmonious blends,
May breathe a stame impetuous through the whole;
And make a people, one, all-conquering soul.
Then, by the pressing evils of the times;
Their indolence; corruption; luxury; crimes;
Slightly the purer passion is annoyed;
By it's afflatus is the nation buoyed;
It's heat these noxious vapours clears away;
As clouds disperse before the god of day.

Thus the Creator; thus the Lord of all,
Impresses, ever, and preserves our ball;
* Works plastick nature, through her varied range;
And stimulates her powers, at every change;
Bids them their acts effential still maintain;
And deluges, and earthquakes rage in vain.

^{*} Mens agitat molem; et toto se corpore miscet.-VIRGIL.

Mute be the croaking prophets of the day;
Creating danger; raifing vain difmay,
Whene'er a speck of publick ill appears;
FRENCH, in their hopes; or female, in their sears!

As on it's folid base our empire stands;
And all it's forces * unimpaired commands;
Let us, if we peruse grave history's page,
To dignify this world's inserior stage,
Adopt examples from a better age.

While yet unshaken, let us learn from Rome
Of ancient same, to spurn a service doom;
Or should our sea-girt isle her danger share;
Her let us emulate, and spurn despair.

True to itself, the greatly conscious soul
No petty smiles, nor petty frowns controul;
When the worst ills assail, it's conflicts rise;
From sirmness, and the justice of the skies,

^{*} I here anticipate the cavil, and the puny triumph of democratical ignorance. So long as any state can provide the necessary supplies of war, and, at the same time, preserve it's national health, and vigour; the forces of that state are unimpaired.

It still anticipates complete relief, In all the majesty of Roman grief.

When dreadful Annibal; stupendous foe!

Fearless of Alpine heights; of Alpine snow;

Those heights had passed; he poured, along the plains,

A furious tide of war on Rome's domains!

Genius; the love of fame; of Rome the hate,

Wrought all the splendour of this here's fate;

No bounds to glorious deeds hath heaven affigned,

When three such powerful engines move the mind.

First at Ticinum were his rapid arms

Victorious; and through Latium spread alarms;

The frighted river rolled a purple flood;

Great Po, with horrour, felt the generous blood.

Still Apric's lion the proud eagle tore;

And Trebia's stream was red with Roman gore.

Almost with filial grief the classick muse The lake, the hills of Trasimenus views! PATAVIUM'S glory; how thy page divine
Makes Roman valour in misfortune shine!
Nature, with squalid mien, predicts the fray;
She sends a gloomy, dank, and weeping day;
The realms of ITALY with earthquakes reel;
Which all but the contending armies seel;
Divine, and human rage, at once, are hurled;
And Jove, and Annibal divide the world.
Sickly, through Nature's horrours, gleams the sun;
Carnage completes the scene which they begun.

Of common minds the fortitude is less,

As deeper swells the climax of distress:

Not so the Romans; even to Cannæ's field

Their unsubmitting spirit scorned to yield.

A heavier chain of woes can history tell?

—At Cannæ sisty thousand Romans sell!

The rapid Aufidus was near the plain;

The melancholy tidings of the slain

He rolled, in blood Patrician, to the main!

How imminent was, now, the Roman doom!

The conquerour, but an easy march from Roma!

And what a conquerour! fay, can history show

So great a people matched with such a soe?

Curse on my lays, if ever they resuse

Praise to the man who shades my savourite views;

In whom the world admires the real charms

Of genius, or in letters, or in arms;

If, though conspicuous gallantry prevail,

I tell DE WINTER'S cold, DUTCH, envious tale!

But the French Corsican will France oppose,

Though wild her gasconading rhetorick flows,

With seeble modern ITALY o'errun;

Nay, with his trophies even from Austria won;

—Will she oppose him to Amilcar's son?

Let me, with ardour, following glory's call,
View Rome's confummate greatness in her fall.
When from his favourites Jove awhile withdrew;
And turned to Carthage, with propitious view;
Evils oppressed; but still the Roman rose;
Humane, in triumphs, and august, in woes:
When Cannæ's field to fresh alarms gave birth;
And shook those energies that shook the earth;
When

When plans were offered, in a warm debate, Unequal to the high decrees of fate; To court renown, like fons of Rome, no more: To breathe ignobly, on some foreign shore; The youthful * Scipio drew his flaming fword; Worthy companion of each fiery word! The destined saviour of his country swore By Jove, who had protected Rome before, That all who heard him should resist the soe; That valour still might ward the fatal blow; That strength, and honour were reserved for ROME, Of long duration; of perpetual bloom: " If one man here thrinks from his country's good, "My vengeful blade shall seek the dastard's blood!" His oath with patriot hearts his audience feel; Awed less by Annibal's than Scipio's steel.

But not alone thus acted Scipio's foul;

The same intrepid thoughts inspired the whole.

^{*} See Note A, at the end.

When * VARRO to the capital returned;
Whose valour had with warmth destructive burned;
All orders in procession met the chies;
Eager to pour into his mind relies;
Thanked him for bravely bearing Fate's harsh doom;
"For not despairing of imperial Rome!"
What was the consequence?—Rome's empire rose
On the vast ruins of her Punit soes;
Great deeds achieved; and greater still designed;
For pressure but new-springs the generous mind;
As gold by Vulcan's torture is refined.

Even in the fiercest war is Britain blessed;
With no destructive ravages distressed;
Even now her sons are not compelled to cease
The sweet employments, and the joys of peace:
Environed with tranquillity, the swain
Rears the new hay; and reaps the golden grain;
Commerce with usual vigour spreads her fails;
And England's fortune sends auspicious gales:

^{*} See Note B, at the end.

From human blifs no founds discordant jar,
But Faction's clamour, with it's wordy war.
What most we value; property; law; life;
From all the horrours of the martial strife,
Nature, and man, alike, with us defend;
—Their generous efforts let us all befriend.
No Buonapartes in our isle shall rage;
No dreadful Punic war have we to wage;
The god of ocean ever guards our shore;
His waves, and our victorious cannon roar;
Still we possess our old internal powers;
And English wealth, and hearts, and hands are ours.

Then, let each honest man dismis his sears;
Let every timorous woman dry her tears:
And you, domestick enemies, who spread,
With souls malignant, artificial dread;
Let phantoms court you to some foreign strand;
And quit, too good for you, your native land.

When FRANCE imperial dignity maintained;
When Louis' fortune, and her Colbert reigned;
When

When female charms, and female wit inspired;
And all that splendour with their ether fired;
Her threats; her force, if we could then disdain;
Of France degenerate shall we bear the chain?
Shall we, to English same no longer true,
Stoop to a vile, marauding, russian crew?
Shall English talents their protection owe
To De la Croix; to Monge, and to Lepaux?
Shall Gallia's hireling chief these realms command;
Dissolve our senate, and * divide our land?
Is any price enormous that we pay
To quell the tempest of chaotick sway?

^{*} Their civil, are analogous to their penal laws. BUONAPARTE who is a general, affects to be a statesman, too, without a particle of political knowledge; indeed, all that he writes, is in the peremptory, oftentatious, empty manner of that nation of which he has the honour to be the first lawless MURMIDON. He advises his LIGURIAN republick to divide their state into ten military departments; each of them is to be commanded by an officer of the line: by this institution, adds the Solon of France, you will be sure of an accurate administration of justice. I hope that this Corsican Draco will never have it in his power to establish his simple, concise, and salutary code, in England.

No;—if, at ease we draw not British breath; We'll court a glorious poverty, or death.

There are incentives in the roll of fate: Which, in collision with a mighty state, Would so strike fire;—fuch talents would shoot forth; Such emulation; fuch exerted worth; That were it's constitution in decline: With all it's ancient lustre it would shine. My country! justly every Briton's pride; Where Freedom still is anxious to reside: Because, constrained from other lands to flee, She found her walls of adamant in thee! Great patroness of man's eternal cause: His mild religion, and his equal laws! From distant ages Providence's care; Parent of gallant fons, and daughters fair! Where, in the cultivated rural scene, CERES, and FLORA wear their brightest mien! And where, in focial elegance are joined The charms of person, and the charms of mind;

Of fage philosophers a numerous train; Of men most powerful in poetick strain! Should human excellence our fearch engage, In recollecting down, from age to age; While memory travels, too, from pole to pole; The first achievements of the human soul, Great Queen of Islands, we shall find in thee; Divine at land, and terrible at sea! Since Europe, now, her arbitress reveres; And looks to thee, with mingled hopes, and fears; Of all the deeds that British annals praise, From virtuous ALFRED's down to George's days; When thou must act the most distinguished part; When all thy glories press upon my heart; When with emphatick voice thy honour calls; Accept the verse that flows; the tear that falls!

Sons of the men, whom times remoter faw
Their conquering fwords against oppression draw;
With hearts elate, and steddy march advance,
To the pale lilies of their trembling FRANCE;

Oft taught to bleed; but never taught to fly;
Refolve, once more, to conquer, or to die!
Oh! give not peerless beauty; strongest mind,
To the declared affassins of mankind!
Make no mean peace with monsters that retain
Nought faithful; nought religious; nought humane:
Against our universe their threats are hurled;
Desend yourselves; and you desend the world!

Never desert the man who rules our helm;
Whom furious surges cannot overwhelm:
Resolved, while trusted with Britannia's weal,
For this, alone, to think; for this, to seel;
This, the great source, and end of all his cares;
And still, intrepid, to this point he bears.
Revered example more instances the son,
To earn such honours as his father won;
Who, haply darts a fond, paternal eye,
Sent, with a smile approving, from the sky!

For me; while in calm folitude I view Thee, to thyself, on every trial, true; To Engrand true; I feel; or feem to feel,
Through all my frame the fine contagion steal;
I feel the natural, ardent passion rise,
To gain my country's praise; the poet's prize;
Next, kindling Fancy views the threatened storm;
Then fired by thee, a bolder wish I form;
By thy commanding genius borne along,
To act, in conduct, what I praise, in fong!

Still magnanimity and candour join;
Then furely both the properties are thine:
Let not that magnanimity refuse
The grateful verse of an ingenuous muse;
"Who shades thy" high, meridian "walk with bays;"

" No hireling, she; no prostitute to praise;"

"Through" Faction's fog "one truly great can fee;"

Worthy to rouse the brave; and guide the free.

O! Thou! at whose benign, all-powerful call, Up sprung, from chaos, our stupendous ball;

And who, from tumult, still, of field, or flood. From present ill educest greater good; Propitious, hear thy humble suppliant's prayer: Is not thy creature his CREATOR's care! Sufficient influence of thy Spirit give; That in the little space I now can live, Each hour I may respect; and thus atone For all my wrongs from others; and my own! Oh! let my common, meaner wants, be few; My mental treasures, various, rich, and new; Then shall my nature for itself suffice; Perpetual flux, and reflux of supplies: Old years in renovated youth shall roll; Well strung my nerves of body, and of soul. Temperance my system will exalt, at home; A wanderer, abroad I need not roam; Of a precarious world my life the fport; Toffed on the waves of caprice for support!

As Independence, even unarmed with power, Speaks, writes the truth; whatever dangers lower;

Snares

Snares to it's weal as foes in ambush lay;
And poor, pretended Friendship sneaks away;
Teach me, by virtuous discipline, to find
A comprehensive kingdom, in my * mind;
There, with serene, yet with despotick reign,
To guard the small, but well-improved domain!

Concentered, then, with more effectual force,
My faculties will hold their destined course;
Will execute their duties here below;
To all thy foes, an active, ardent soe:
But mounting above Nature's works, they'll slee,
Still with the greatest energy, to Thee!

And as the raptures of the poet rife

Above the † pleasures of the good, and wife;

^{*} In proportion as a created being, in any mode of it's existing, or acting, resembles the Supreme Being; (though, at the best, in an insignificant comparative degree,) the general happiness of that being is augmented. Now, the Supreme Being is pure mind; he is all, MIND.

⁺ Here I refer to the immediate degree of impulse and impression.

God forbid that I should infinuate that, in the amount of life, it is better to be a poet than a truly wise, and virtuous man.

Good-

Goodness, and wisdom, too, as he can teach
With greater emphasis than Sherlocks preach;
Let poetry still bless thy suppliant's views;—
It's beauteous images; it's vivid hues;
It's fire celestial; all-sufficient store!
Kings; emperours; none but Thou, can give us
more!

And while the groffer lumps of mortals lie,
(A living death!) in Epicurus' fty;
To ruin's gloom while meteors draw the vain;
While Avarice petrifies her shivering train;
Grant me, with pure, and strong Parnassian ray,
To float, and wanton, in the blaze of day!



NOTES.

NOTE A; referring to a Passage in Page 47.

AFTER the defeat at CANNÆ, fome ROMANS of diftinguished rank fled to CANUSIUM. The famous SCI-P10, then a youth, was of the number. While he, and fome of his friends were confulting there, in consequence of the melancholy catastrophe, Publius Philus came, and told them, that " their consultation was superfluous; that "the commonwealth was irrecoverably ruined; and that METELLUS, with others of the young nobility, had deter-" mined to fail from ITALY, and to feek the protection of fome " powerful king."-Quod malum (the passage well deserves to be quoted) præterquam quod atrox, super tot clades etians novum, cum stupore, ac miraculo, torpidos defixisset; et ani aderant, concilium advocandum de co censerent: negat concilii rem esse Scipio, juvenis fatalis dux hujusce bolh: andendum, atque agendum; non confultandum," ait, " in tanto malo esse; irent secum, extemplo, armati, qui rem-" publicam falvam vellent: nunquam verius quam ubi ea "cogitentur, hostium castra offe."-Pergit deinde, ise, sequentibus paucis, in hospitium METELLI; et quum concilium

cilium ibi juvenum, de quibus allatum erat, invenisset; stricto super capita consultantium gladio;—" Ex mei animi sententia," inquit, " juro, ut ego rempublicam non deseram;
nec alium civem Romanum deserere patiar. Si sciens fallo,
tum me Jupiter optime maxime; domum, samiliam, remque meam, pessimo leto afficias! In hæc verba
L. Cæcili, jures postulo, cæterique qui adestis: qui non
juraverit, in se hunc gladium strictum esse sciat."—Haud
secus pavidi quam si victorem Annibalem cernerent, jurant
omnes; custodiendosque semetipsos contra Annibalem
Scipioni tradunt.—Livy, Lib. kxii. Sect. 53.

"This new, and great calamity, immediately succeeding so fo many dreadful misfortunes, struck those who heard it, with aftonishment, and with aggravated mortification: They proposed that a council should be called, to deliberate, and refolve, on this intelligence. Scipio, the young hero se who was destined to be the leader of this war, replied, that it was abfurd to talk of deliberating.- In a fituation * Fike this,? added he, * we must not indolently consult; we " must dare, and we must act. Let those who are interested in the welfare of the republick, follow me, with their arms: 46 the place where fuch ignoble determinations are formed, is the camp of the enemy.'-Accompanied by a few, he went immediately to the lodgings of METELLUS. " there found the young men of whose intention he had been "informed, planning their voyage. He drew his fword; " raised it in a menacing manner; and thus addressed them: " 'I fwear, "I Twear, from the most fervent sentiments of my soul, that
"I will never desert the republick; nor suffer any ROMAN
"citizen to desert her. If I consciously deviate from what I
"swear, mayest thou, O! just, and omnipotent JUPITER,
"destroy me; my house; my family; and all that I posses,
"with a terrible, and exemplary ruin. I insist that you,
"METELLUS, and that your friends who are with you,
"shall take this oath. This sword is drawn on the man who
"refuses to take it.'—Not less awed than if they had seen
"the victorious Carthaginian, they all swore; and sur"rendered themselves to the custody of Scipio; to sight
"against Annibal."

The eloquence, and the firmness of Mr. Pirr, devoted to the most glorious cause that can animate the mind of man, should have the powerful influence of the sword of Scipio; it should transmute fear into courage; and democratical virulence into constitutional loyalty.

Note B, referring to a Passage in Page 48.

WE are told by the first of historians, whose dignity of genius was worthy to write the annals of his country, that immediately after the battle of CANNÆ, most of the ITALIAN states; the GRECIAN colonies who had settled in ITALY; and CISALPINE GAUL, deserted to the CARTHA-GINIANS.—Nec tamen hæ clades, desectionesque sociorum,

move-

moverunt ut pacis unquam mentio apud Romanos feret, neque ante consulis Romani adventum, nec postquam is rediit, renovavitque memoriam acceptæ cladis. Quo in tempore ipso, adeo magno animo civitas suit, ut consuli ex tanta clade, cujus ipse magna causa suisse suit, et obyjam itum frequenter ab omnibus ordinibus sit; et gratiæ actæ, quod de republica non desperasset: cui, si Carthagini-Busium ductor suisset, nihil recusandum supplicit soret.—Livy, Lib. xxii. Sect. 61.

"But neither the great victories of the enemy, nor the numerous defections of our allies ever extorted from the Romans the slightest mention of peace: it was not mentioned before the return of the conful; nor after his return had renewed the image of our calamity. Rome was even animated with so great a publick soul, that her citizens, of all ranks, went out, in crowds, to meet a conful, returning from a most humiliating defeat, of which he himself had been the principal cause: and to that conful they gave their thanks; because he had not despaired of the commonwealth. With such honours they received this unfortunate general; who, if he had been a Carthaginian commander, must have anticipated an ignominious, and cruel death.

ENGLAND was far from being reduced to the condition of ROME, when she repeatedly sent a plenipotentiary to FRANCE, Our minister must have known what was obvious to common sense; that we could expect no pacifick terms, in any degree, reason-